

Message Text

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FOR HODDING CARTER FROM RESTON

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:OVIP

SUBJECT: WEEKEND PRESS TAKE

NEWSPAPERS

, BEGIN QUOTED IN A BREAKFAST MEETING IN JUNE, PRESIDENT CARTER INJECTED HIMSELF INTO THE RIVALRY BETWEEN SECRETARY OF STATE CYRUS R. VANCE AND WHITE HOUSE NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS ADVISER ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI, POINTEDLY INSTRUCTING HIS TOP OFFICIALS THAT HE WANTED VANCE TO BE HIS CHIEF FOREIGN POLICY SPOKESMAN.

THE PRESIDENT'S ACTION CAME AFTER VANCE HAD PRIVATELY EXPRESSED HIS CONCERN TO CARTER THAT RECENT PUBLIC POLICY STATEMENTS BY BRZEZINSKI WERE UNDERCUTTING HIS ABILITY TO FUNCTION EFFECTIVELY, ACCORDING TO INFORMED SOURCES.

SINCE THE WHITE HOUSE BREAKFAST ON JUNE 9, BRZEZINSKI HAS UNCLASSIFIED

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MADE NO PUBLIC SPEECHES AND HAS TURNED DOWN VIRTUALLY ALL REQUESTS TO APPEAR ON TELEVISION SHOWS. (HE CONSENTED TO ONE INTERVIEW DURING THE RECENT BONN SUMMIT, WITH CBS WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENT ROBERT PIERPONT, A 10-MINUTE SESSION THAT PRODUCED THREE OR FOUR MINUTES OF AIRTIME.)

DETAILS OF HOW THE MONTHS OF MOUNTING DIFFERENCES BETWEEN VANCE AND BRZEZINSKI AND THEIR STAFFS REACHED THEIR CLIMAX WERE PIECED TOGETHER AFTER A SERIES OF INTERVIEWS WITH SENIOR OFFICIALS IN THE ADMINISTRATION. THEY STRESSED

THAT BRZEZINSKI'S ROLE AS THE PRESIDENT'S CLOSEST STAFF ADVISER ON NATIONAL SECURITY REMAINS UNCHANGED. BUT THEY SAID HE WILL BE CONFINING HIS ENERGIES TO ADVISING CARTER INTERNALLY, RATHER THAN SERVING AS AN OUT-FRONT; ON-THE-RECORD SPOKESMAN.

VANCE HAD BEEN PROMPTED TO VOICE HIS CONCERNS TO THE PRESIDENT, ACCORDING TO A KNOWLEDGEABLE OFFICIAL, AFTER BRZEZINSKI APPEARED ON THE MAY 28 "MEET THE PRESS" NBC TELEVISION SHOW AND HAD SOUNDED A HARDLINE ATTACK ON SOVIET POLICIES IN AFRICA AND ELSEWHERE. BREZEZINSKI'S COMMENTS WERE MORE HARSH IN TONE THAN PRONOUNCEMENTS BY VANCE, AND EVEN THE FIRMEST PORTIONS OF CARTER'S SOVIET POLICY SPEECH AT ANNAPOLIS.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE DID NOT KNOW IN ADVANCE WHAT BRZEZINSKI INTENDED TO SAY ON THE SHOW. AND ONCE HE LEARNED OF BRZEZINSKI'S REMARKS, HE DISAGREED SHARPLY WITH THEIR TONE AND THRUST.

BREZINSKI'S "MEET THE PRESS" COMMENTS WERE INTERPRETED BY MANY AS A NEW CARTER ADMINISTRATION POLICY--A FURTHER HARDENING OF U.S. POLICY ON SOVIET ACTIONS. BRZEZINSKI UNCLASSIFIED

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CHARGED THE SOVIETS WITH A SUORT-SIGHTED ATTEMPT TO EXPLOIT GLOBAL DIFFICULTIES,"DECLARED THAT SOVIET-CUBAN INVOLVEMENT IN AFRICA SHOULD NOT BE "COST-FREE," WARNED THAT "THIS INVOLVEMENT COULD PRODUCE CONSEQUENCES WHICH MAY BE INIMICAL TO THEM," CONCLUDED" "THIS PATTERN OF BEHAVIOR I DO NOT BELIEVE COMPATIBLE WITH WHAT WAS ONCE CALLED THE CODE OF DETENTE."

VANCE, IN CONTRAST, FAVORED A POSITIVE COURSE THAT WOULD ENCOURAGE OTHER AFRICAN NATIONS TO ASK SOVIETS AND CUBANS TO PULL OUT OF AFRICA. AND, WHILE NOT MINIMIZING THE CONCERNS OVER SOVIET-CUBAN ACTIVITIES IN AFRICA, HE FELT IT NECESSARY TO MAKE CLEAR THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL NEVERTHELESS PURSUE NEGOTIATIONS FOR A STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION AGREEMENT.

AFTER BRZEZINSKI'S TELEVISION APPEARANCE, VANCE PRIVATELY LET CARTER KNOW OF HIS DEEPLY FELT CONCERNS. VANCE DID NOT THREATEN TO RESIGN, ONCE SOURCE SAID, BUT HE MADE IT CLEAR HE FELT IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE FOR A SECRETARY OF STATE TO FUNCTION EFFECTIVELY IN THE POSITION IN WHICH HE WAS

BEING PLACED. VANCE FELT THAT WORLD LEADERS WERE BECOMING "TOTALLY CONFUSED" ABOUT JUST WHICH STATEMENTS, BY WHICH OFFICIALS, CONSTITUTED U.S. POLICY, THE SOURCE SAID.

VANCE WAS NOT THE ONLY PERSON DURING THAT PERIOD WHO

IMPLORED CARTER TO PERSONALLY RESOLVE THE QUESTION OF WHO WAS SPEAKING FOR THE PRESIDENT ON MATTERS OF FOREIGN POLICY. ONE SOURCE SAID HE KNEW THAT PRESS SECRETARY JODY POWELL HAD PRIVATELY URGED CARTER TO INTERCEDE IN THE GROWING BREACH BETWEEN VANCE AND BRZEZINSKI ON THE ISSUING OF PUBLIC STATEMENTS, AND THAT HE BELIEVED OTHER OFFICIALS MAY HAVE URGED THAT AS WELL.

POWELL'S ADVICE TO CARTER, IT WAS LEARNED, WAS THAT THE UNCLASSIFIED

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PRESIDENT SHOULD GET TOGETHER WITH HIS TOP OFFICIALS AND INSTRUCT THEM TO MAKE SURE THEY WERE SPEAKING WITH "ONE VOICE," RATHER THAN THE VARIED DEGREES OF EMPHASIS AND TONE THAT GAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE ADMINISTRATION WAS VACILLATING ON CENTRAL POLICY ISSUES.

CARTER, IT TURNED OUT, DID BASICALLY THAT.

AT 7:30 ON JUNE 9, THE PRESIDENT CONVENED HIS REGULAR FRIDAY MORNING BREAKFAST MEETING WITH HIS TOP ADVISERS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. THOSE ATTENDING WERE VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE, DEFENSE SECRETARY HAROLD BROWN, WHITE HOUSE ASSISTANT HAMILTON JORDAN, VANCE AND BRZEZINSKI.

THE PRESIDENT LAUNCHED INTO A DISCUSSION ABOUT HOW THE ADMINISTRATION APPEARED TO BE SPEAKING WITH MORE THAN ONE VOICE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND THAT HE WANTED IT STOPPED, ACCORDING TO ONE KNOWLEDGEABLE SOURCE. CARTER IS SAID TO HAVE OBSERVED THAT SOME OF HIS OFFICIALS WERE NOT EXERCISING THE SAME SORT OF DISCIPLINE THAT HE HIMSELF EXERCISED BEFORE MAKING A MAJOR POLICY STATEMENT; THAT IS CHECKING OFF WITH ALL OTHER DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES INVOLVED SUCH AS THE DEFENSE AND STATE DEPARTMENTS, THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL, AND SO ON. CARTER WENT ON TO EMPHASIZE THAT HE CONSIDERED VANCE TO BE HIS CHIEF SPOKESMAN FOR CONVEYING FOREIGN POLICY TO THE PUBLIC.

CARTER CONDUCTED THE MEETING SO IT DID NOT APPEAR TO BE A DRESSING DOWN OF BRZEZINSKI, BUT RATHER AN ANALYSIS OF WHAT HIS TOP OFFICIALS WERE FAILING TO DO AND WHAT HE WANTED THEM TO DO IN THE FUTURE, ACCORDING TO ONE OFFICIAL. CARTER HAS MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE STILL REGARDS BRZEZINSKI AS HIS TOP STAFF ADVISER AND THAT THEIR CLOSE WORKING UNCLASSIFIED

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RELATIONSHIP IS UNCHANGED. BUT HE AND HIS OTHER OFFICIALS HAVE EMPHASIZED THAT BRZEZINSKI'S ROLE IS TO BE AN INSIDE

ADVISER AND NOT A SPOKESMAN FOR FOREIGN POLICY.

SINCE THAT MEETING, BRZEZINSKI HAS MADE NO PUBLIC SPEECHES AND HAS TURNED DOWN REQUESTS TO APPEAR ON TELEVISION INTERVIEW SHOWS, ACCORDING TO A SPOKESMAN FOR THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL. HE VOLUNTEERED, HOWEVER, "IF YOU ARE GETTING AT A STORY THAT SAYS BRZEZINSKI HAS BEEN MUZZLED, I DON'T THINK THAT'S THE CASE."

VANCE, MEANWHILE, HAS GONE TO CARVE OUT A GOOD DEAL OF INDEPENDENCE FOR HIMSELF IN THE MAKING OF FOREIGN POLICY PRONOUNCEMENTS, HE HAS BEEN AIDED BY THE PRESIDENT AND HIS SENIOR STAFF.

VANCE LEFT FOR EUROPE JUST AFTER RECEIVING CARTER'S OFFICIAL BREAKFAST BENEDICTION ON JUNE 9, BUT THE NEW EMPHASIS OF AUTHORITY UNDER WHICH HE SPOKE BECAME APPARENT IN THREE CONSECUTIVE APPEARANCES AFTER HIS RETURN A WEEK LATER.

ON MONDAY, JUNE 19, VANCE TESTIFIED FOR NEARLY TWO HOURS BEFORE THE HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE, TAKING A POSITIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE LINE AND POINTEDLY MAKING NO REITERATION OF BRZEZINSKI'S MOST HARDLINE STATEMENTS THAT THE SOVIET AND CUBAN ACTIONS IN AFRICA COULD IMPERIL THE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS ON (SALT) IN SPECIFIC OR DETENTE IN GENERAL.

IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS FROM HOUSE MEMBERS ABOUT "CONFUSION AND DOUBT" RESULTING FROM RECENT ADMINISTRATION STATEMENTS, VANCE SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN DESIGNATED TO CLEAR UP ALL POLICY QUESTIONS. "I SPEAK FOR THE PRESIDENT AS WELL AS MYSELF," HE SAID AT ONE POINT.
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WHEN PRESSED ON SOVIET AND CUBAN ACTIONS IN AFRICA, VANCE SAID: I THINK ONE SHOULD BE CAREFUL IN THE RHETORIC ONE USES. I THINK IT'S VERY EASY TO SLIP INTO RHETORIC WHICH MAY BE EXCESSIVE AND WHICH PEOPLE TERM "COLD WAR RHETORIC."

ON TUESDAY, JUNE 20, VANCE DELIVERED A MAJOR POLICY ADDRESS IN ATLANTIC CITY ON A TOPIC OF HIS OWN CHOOSING: U.S. POLICY ON AFRICA. VANCE WORKED ON THE TEXT DURING HIS RETURN FLIGHT FROM LONDON. HE EVEN SURPRISED SOME OF HIS OWN STAFF WORKERS BY STRIKING OUT SOME OF THE HARDLINE LANGUAGE THEY HAD INSERTED TO CONFORM WITH WHAT THEY THOUGHT WAS THE NEW, TOUGHER EMPHASIS ON SOVIET AND CUBAN ACTIVITIES IN AFRICA.

"I DON'T BELIEVE THAT, SO I'M NOT GOING TO SAY IT," VANCE TOLD HIS STAFF AT ONE POINT, ACCORDING TO ONE SOURCE. HE ORDERED HIS WRITERS TO "TONE DOWN" THE ANTI-SOVIET AND CUBAN RHETORIC AND INSTEAD TO USE AS A GUIDELINE A SPEECH

HE DELIVERED ON AFRICAN POLICY IN THE SUMMER OF 1977--
BEFORE THE LATEST ROUND OF HARDLINE COMMENTS FROM U.S.
OFFICIALS.

ON THE FOLLOWING SUNDAY, VANCE SENT DRAFTS OF THAT SPEECH
TO THE PRESIDENT, BRZEZINSKI AND OTHER OFFICIALS. BUT
THEN, AT THE LAST HOUR, HE MADE A SIGNIFICANT CHANGE. HE
BELIEVED "IT COULD BE HELPFUL TO INCREASE OUR CONSULTATIONS
WITH THE ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT"--BOTH FOR BRINGING ABOUT A
BORDER AGREEMENT BETWEEN ANGOLA AND ZAIRE, AND FOR ACHIEV-
ING A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA.

THE PASSAGE STOOD IN SHARP CONTRAST TO BRZEZINSKI'S
REPORTED DESIRE TO MAKE LIFE DIFFICULT FOR THE MARXIST
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REGIME OF ANGOLA;S AGOSTINHO NETO, WHICH WAS SUPPORTED BY
20,000 CUBAN TROOPS, AND IN HIS INTEREST IN TRYING TO FIND
WAYS AROUND THE CLARK AMENDMENT (AGAINST U.S. ACTION IN
ANGOLA WITHOUT CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL) SO THAT THE UNITED
STATE COULD AID THE UNITA REBELS WHO SEEK TO OVERTHROW
NETO.

VANCE SENT A COPY OF THIS LAST DRAFT DIRECTLY TO CARTER.
HE RECEIVED THE PRESIDENT'S APPROVAL, AND THE SPEECH WAS
DELIVERED AS AMENDED. AS FAR AS CAN BE LEARNED,
BRZEZINSKI DID NOT RECEIVE THIS LATEST DRAFT CONTAINING THE
CRUCIAL CHANGE CALLING FOR CONSULTATIONS WITH ANGOLA.
"THAT WAS DONE STRICTLY BETWEEN THE SECRETARY AND THE -
PRESIDENT," SAID ONE OFFICIAL.

(SUBSEQUENT TO THE VANCE SPEECH, ANGOLA'S NETO ANNOUNCED
HIS INTENTION TO DISARM THE KATANGAN REBELS IN ANGOLA AND
TRY TO PREVENT THEM FROM AGAIN INVADING ZAIRE. AND A FEW
WEEKS AGO, AGREEMENT WAS REACHED ON A SETTLEMENT OF THE
CONFLICT IN NAMIBIA, WITH ANGOLA PLAYING A KEY-ROLE IN THE
PROCESS.)

ON WEDNESDAY, JUNE 21, VANCE RECEIVED A MORE PUBLIC
AFFIRMATION OF HIS NEWLY STRENGTHENED ROLE--DIRECTLY FROM
THE PRESIDENT. AT A WHITE HOUSE BRIEFING ON FOREIGN
AFFAIRS FOR 80 SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES, CARTER DE-
CLARED THAT VANCE WAS HIS CHIEF SPOKESMAN ON FOREIGN
POLICY. AND THE STRUCTURE OF THE EVENING'S AGENDA CARE-
FULLY EMPHASIZED THAT POINT. CARTER OPENED THE SESSION
BY PRESENTING POLICY GOALS, PROBLEMS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

VANCE SPOKE NEXT, WITH A DETAILED ANALYSIS OF FOREIGN
POLICY MATTERS RANGING FROM MIDEAST TO AFRICA TO SALT,
BROWN SPOKE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS. AND THEN BRZEZINSKI
SPOKE BRIEFLY, HIS REMARKS CONCENTRATED ONLY ON HIS RECENT
TRIP TO CHINA.

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THE BOOSTING OF VANCE HAS CONTINUED.

WHEN THE WHITE HOUSE SOUGHT TO MINIMIZE THE IMPACT OF UNITED NATIONS AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S COMMENT ABOUT POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE UNITED STATES EARLIER THIS MONTH, PRESS SECRETARY POWELL DID SO BY SAYING THAT AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY STATEMENTS "COME FROM THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE..."

AND MOST RECENTLY; A SENIOR WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL OFFERED THIS OBSERVATION IN AN INTERVIEW:

"TO PERSONS IN YOUR BUSINESS, ZBIG IS A MORE INTERESTING PERSON THAN CY. BUT MAKE NO MISTAKE: CY IS THE DOMINANT VOICE IN FOREIGN POLICY. AND I DON'T MEAN HE IS JUST DOMINANT ON THE OUTSIDE, AS A SPOKESMAN, I MEAN DOMINANT AS AN ADVISER.

ZBIG IS HELPFUL INTERNALLY, AND HE'S IMPORTANT WITH SOME SEGMENTS UP ON THE HILL, BUT IF YOU LINE ZBIG UP ON 10 ISSUES, AND YOU LINE CY UP ON THE SAME 10 ISSUES, CARTER COMES DOWN MOSTLY WITH CY.

"IT'S JUST THAT PEOPLE DON'T REALIZE THIS--BECAUSE CY IS NOT A SELF-PROMOTER." END TEXT.

ABOVE PIECE BY MARTIN SCHRAM OF NEWSDAY, HEADLINED THE "ASCENDANCY OF CYRUS VANCE", APPEARED RIGHT HAND COLUMN, FRONT PAGE, SUNDAY WASHINGTON POST.

2. BERNARD GWERTZMAN'S ARTICLE, WHICH LEADS SUNDAY'S NEW YORK TIMES, DATELINE JERUSALEM, FOLLOWS:
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BEGIN TEXT: SECRETARY OF STATE CYRUS R. VANCE ARRIVED HERE TONIGHT IN SEARCH OF A FORMULA TO KEEP THE MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATIONS ALIVE.

WITH TALKS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT AT A PRECARIOUS STAGE, THERE WAS A MOOD OF UNCERTAINTY AND DOUBT AROUND MR. VANCE'S LATEST TRIP.

IN WELCOMING CEREMONIES AT THE BEN-GURION INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT, NEAR TEL AVIV, FOREIGN MINISTER MOSHE DAYAN TOLD

MR. VANCE THAT EGYPT AND ISRAEL WERE "STUCK" IN THEIR NEGOTIATIONS AND NEEDED HELP FROM THE UNITED STATES.

THE PEACE EFFORTS HAVE RUN INTO OBSTACLES AS A RESULT OF PRESIDENT ANWAR EL-SADAT'S SUDDEN CANCELLATION OF A PLANNED MEETING NEXT WEEK OF FOREIGN MINISTERS BECAUSE OF WHAT HE CALLED ISRAEL'S INTRANSIGENCE.

UNDERLINE: VANCE SEES CRITICAL STAGE IN TALKS. END UNDERLINE.

MR. VANCE BELIEVES THE PEACE TALKS ARE AT A SERIOUS STAGE. IN REMARKS AT THE AIRPORT, HE REPEATED WHAT HE HAD TOLD A CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE YESTERDAY, THAT THE TALKS WERE AT A "CRITICAL POINT."

REPORTERS ABOARD MR. VANCE'S AIR FORCE PLANE EN ROUTE TO ISRAEL FROM WASHINGTON WERE TOLD REPEATEDLY THAT THE HIGHEST PRIORITY HAD TO BE GIVEN TO FINDING WAYS TO GET THE TALKS "BACK ON THE TRACK"--IN MR. VANCE'S WORDS.

VARIOUS IDEAS HAD BEEN DISCUSSED PRIVATELY BY MR. VANCE AND HIS AIDES, IN ADVANCE OF THE TALKS OF TOMORROW WITH PRIME MINISTER MENACHEM BEGIN AND OTHER ISRAELI OFFICIALS, UNCLASSIFIED

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AND WITH PRESIDENT SADAT AND EGYPTIANS OFFICIALS IN ALEXANDRIA ON MONDAY AND TUESDAY.

UNDERLINE: BACK TO WASHINGTON ON WEDNESDAY: END UNDERLINE

ACCORDING TO HIS SCHEDULE, MR. VANCE PLANS TO RETURN TO IMMEDIATELY TO WASHINGTON WEDNESDAY TO REPORT TO PRESIDENT CARTER ON WHAT STEPS THE UNITED STATES SHOULD TAKE--IF ANY--TO HELP REVIVE NEGOTIATIONS.

AMONG THE POSSIBILITIES BEING DISCUSSED BY THE AMERICANS ARE:

-

PERSUADING MR. SADAT TO ALLOW THE FOREIGN MINISTERS TO MEET AS PLANNED, OF NOT NEXT WEEK THEN IN THE NEAR FUTURE, THEREBY ALLOWING THE TWO SIDES TO DEFINE MORE EXACTLY THEIR DIFFERENCES AND PERMITTING THE U.S. TO OFFER COMPROMISES TO BRIDGE THE GAP THAT WOULD REMAIN.

--INVITING MR. BEGIN AND MR. SADAT TO WASHINGTON FOR TALKS SEPARATELY OR TOGETHER, OR A COMBINATION OF BOTH, WITH PRESIDENT CARTER TO SEE WHETHER COMPROMISE CAN BE MORE EASILY ACHIEVED AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL.

--SOME KIND OF AMERICAN INITIATIVE, SIMILAR PERHAPS TO SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY, IN WHICH THE U.S. WOULD OFFER A PEACE PLAN OF ITS OWN AND THE IDEAS WOULD BE CIRCULATED TO EGYPT AND ISRAEL IN THE HOPE OF BRINGING COMPROMISES THROUGH AMERICAN PRESTIGE AND PRESSURE.

UNDERLINE: BEGIN MAY PROPOSE SEPARATE DEAL: END UNDERLINE

IN ADDITION TO WHAT THE U.S. IS CONSIDERING, ISRAELI
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OFFICIALS HAVE ALREADY INDICATED THAT MR. BEGIN MAY PROPOSE THAT NEGOTIATIONS WITH EGYPT CENTER ON A SEPARATE AGREEMENT FOR A SETTLEMENT OF THE SINAI PROBLEM, SOMETHING LESS THAN A FULL PEACE TREATY BUT MORE THAN THE DIS-ENGAGEMENT AGREEMENTS NEGOTIATED IN 1974 AND 1975 BE SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY A. KISSINGER.

THE UNITED STATES CONSIDERED CANCELING MR. VANCE'S PRESENT TRIP AFTER MR. SADAT DECIDED TO HALT FURTHER DIRECT CONTACTS WITH ISRAEL UNTIL ISRAEL DECLARED IN ADVANCE THAT IT WOULD RETURN ALL LANDS CAPTURED IN THE 1967 WAR.

BUT REPORTERS ABOARD MR. VANCE'S PLANE WERE TOLD THAT MR. CARTER AND MR. VANCE HAD DECIDED IT WAS IMPORTANT TO FIND OUT PERSONALLY FROM MR. SADAT AND MR. BEGIN WHETHER THE CHANCES FOR PEACE WERE STILL ALIVE. PARTICULARLY, THERE IS INTEREST AS TO WHETHER MR. SADAT HAD ONCE AGAIN ACTED ON IMPULSE AND COULD BE PERSUADED TO CHANGE HIS MIND, OR WHETHER HE HAD REALLY LOST INTEREST IN HIS PEACE INITIATIVE EIGHT MONTHS AFTER HIS HISTORIC VISIT TO ISRAEL.

UNDERLINE: A MEASURE OF ISRAELI FLEXIBILITY:END UNDERLINE

UNTIL MR. SADAT'S ABRUPT MOVE LAST SUNDAY IN CANCELING THE MEETING OF FOREIGN MINISTERS, THE UNITED STATES HAD GIVEN EGYPT CREDIT FOR MAKING CONCESSIONS THAN ISRAEL IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AND IT WAS PREPARED TO URGE ISRAEL TO BE MORE FORTHCOMING ON THE CRUCIAL TERRITORIAL QUESTIONS.

ALTHOUGH MR. SADAT CARRIES MOST OF THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE BREAKDOWN OF THE TALKS, IF THAT IS WHAT HAS ACTUALLY HAPPENED, AMERICAN OFFICIALS TRAVELING WITH MR. VANCE SAID THAT IT WAS WRONG TO BLAME HIM ENTIRELY.

IN THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S VIEW, MR. SADAT HAS BEEN VERY FORTHCOMING IN AGREEING TO A PEACE TREATY AND NORMAL
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RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL AND TO PROMISING ISRAEL'S SECURITY NEEDS COULD BE MET, IF ISRAEL AGREED IN TURN TO RETURN THE OCCUPIED LANDS.

UNDERLINE: U.S. FAVORS ISRAEL DECLARATION:END UNDERLINE

THE UNITED STATES WOULD LIKE ISRAEL TO MAKE A DECLARATION EXPRESSING WILLINGNESS TO WITHDRAW, AT LEAST IN PRINCIPLE, FROM OCCUPIED LANDS INCLUDING THE WEST BANK AND THE GAZA STRIP, BUT LEAVING TO NEGOTIATIONS THE EXTENT AND TIMETABLE OF THE PULLBACK. THIS WOULD PERMIT MR. SADAT TO ASSERT THAT HIS CONDITIONS SEEM TO HAVE BEEN MET, OFFICIALS SAID, AND WOULD OPEN THE OPPORTUNITY FOR JORDAN TO ENTER THE NEGOTIATIONS ALSO.

AMERICAN OFFICIALS SAID THAT IRONICALLY, THERE HAVE BEEN SOME SIGNS OF MODEST EASING IN ISRAEL'S POSITION, EVEN AS MR. SADAT SEEMS TO BE HARDENING HIS TERMS. MR DAYAN NOW TALKS OF THE POSSIBILITY OF TERRITORIAL COMPROMISE. HE HAS SAID THAT ISRAEL WOULD BE WILLING TO DISCUSS THE FUTURE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA AFTER A FIVE-YEAR TRANSITION PERIOD IF MR. BEGIN'S PLAN FOR SELF-RULE IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA WAS ACCEPTED.

BUT MR. SADAT HAS SHOWN NO INTEREST IN THAT PLAN, ALTHOUGH HE HAS SAID A FIVE-YEAR TRANSITION PERIOD WAS SATISFACTORY AS LONG AS THE PALESTINIANS IN THE GAZA STRIP AND THE WEST BANK HAD THE RIGHT TO DETERMINE THEIR FUTURE AT THE END OF THAT PERIOD. END TEXT

3. VANCE MIDDLE EAST TRIP UNREPORTED IN SUNDAY'S BALTIMORE SUN.

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4. ARTICLE BY JIM HOAGLAND AND WM. CLAIBORNE LEADS SUNDAY'S WASHINGTON POST. JERUSALEM

LEAD: QUOTE:

SECRETARY OF STATE CYRUS R. VANCE ARRIVED IN ISRAEL LAST NIGHT TO BEGIN A NEW AMERICAN EFFORT TO BREAK THE DEADLOCK IN EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI PEACE TALKS. END QUOTE.

OTHER POINTS MADE:

-- VANCE IS KNOWN TO HAVE HAD SERIOUS DOUBTS ABOUT MAKING THE TRIP;

-- VANCE DESCRIBED AS EVEN MORE CAUTIOUS THAN USUAL IN DISCUSSING HIS HOPES FOR THE TRIP;

-- VANCE INDICATED NO NEW FLEXIBILITY FROM EITHER SIDE;

--VANCE INDICATED ADMINISTRATION WAS NOT INSISTING ON RESUMPTION OF FACE-TO-FACE TALKS AS THE ONLY WAY OF KEEPING ALIVE THE PEACE INITIATIVE;

--DAYAN STRUCK A CONCILIATORY NOTE IN WELCOMING VANCE.

5. ABC TV EVENING NEWS, FRIDAY, AUGUST 4 CARRIES
STRAIGHT-FORWARD REPORTING OF VANCE'S ;IRC TESTIMONY.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 5, EVENING NEWS BLOCKED OUT BY GOLF-
CHAMPIONSHIP.

6. NBC SATURDAY NIGHTLY NEWS CARRIES VALERIANI FROM
JERUSALEM SAYING "TALKS ARE ON THE VERGE OF BREAKING DOWN
COMPLETELY."

VANCE'S TRIP IS "A RESCUE OPERATION PURE AND SIMPLE.
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THE AMERICAN VIEW IS THAT TIME IS RUNNING OUT ON THE NEG-
OTIATION. VANCE DOES NOT EXPECT TO BE ABLE TO PERSUADE
EGYPT TO RESUME DIRECT TALKS WITH ISRAEL."

7. CBS SATURDAY EVENING NEWS CARRIED BERNARD KALB SAYING
VANCE'S OBJECTIVE IS "TO SALVAGE THE DWINDLING HOPES THAT
THE SADAT VISIT TO JERUSALEM LAST NOVEMBER MIGHT LEAD TO
PEACE.

OTHER POINTS MADE:

--ISRAEL'S FOREIGN MINISTER DAYAN PORTRAYED VANCE AS
POSSIBLY THE ONE MAN WHO COULD GET THE TWO SIDES TALKING
AGAIN;

-- ON THE SECRETARY'S PLANE FLYING FROM WASHINGTON TO
ISRAEL, NO ONE TALKED IN TERMS OF BREAKTHROUGHS TO PEACE.
AND, IF VANCE HERE IN HIS TALKS WITH PRIME MINISTER BEGIN
AND IN EGYPT WITH PRESIDENT SADAT SHOULD FIND NO FLEXI-
BILITY - IN OTHER WORDS, IF THE DEADLOCK CONTINUES - THIS
COULD PUSH THE U.S. A BIG STEP CLOSER TO THE POSSIBILITY OF
PRESENTING ITS OWN PROPOSALS IN A DESPERATE EFFORT TO
RESCUE THE PEACE PROCESS FROM TOTAL COLLAPSE. (BEN GURION
AIRPORT). CHRISTOPHER

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